

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 20852 01 OF 03 302000Z

44

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 064698

O P 301701Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5368

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 20852

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: SCHMIDT VISIT TO ATHENS AND THE CYPRUS
NEGOTIATIONS

SUMMARY: THE FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS INFORMED US THAT THE TALKS IN ATHENS BETWEEN SCHMIDT AND KARAMANLIS REFLECTED GENERAL AGREEMENT ON POINTS OF SUBSTANCE AND HAVE ALSO GIVEN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT SOME HOPE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. KARAMANLIS REPORTEDLY STRESSED THE GREEK DESIRE TO ENTER THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND SAID THAT THE COMMUNITY SHOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN THE PORTION OF THE GREEK-GERMAN COMMUNIQUE REGARDING CYPRUS, KARAMANLIS SHOWED UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEEDS OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY ON CYPRUS. SCHMIDT REITERATED GERMAN READINESS TO BE HELPFUL. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS BRIEFED US AT TWO LEVELS (DESK OFFICER VON DER GABLENTZ AND POLITICAL SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 20852 01 OF 03 302000Z

DIRECTOR VAN WELL) ON BE RESULTS OF CHANCELLOR

SCHMIDT'S TALKS WITH KARAMANLIS YESTERDAY IN ATHENS.

2. VON DER GABLENTZ, READING FROM STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF'S TELEGRAM REPORTING THE SCHMIDT-KARAMANLIS CONVERSATION, TOLD US THE FOLLOWING:

-- KARAMANLIS BEGAN BY ASKING FOR GERMAN SUPPORT ON THREE POINTS: (1) THE FULL INTEGRATION OF GREECE INTO THE COMMUNITY; (2) THE GREEK APPEAL FOR A SECOND FINANCE PROTOCOL IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EC ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT; AND (3) ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

-- SCHMIDT REPLIED THAT THE FRG HAD GIVEN FULL SUPPORT WITHOUT RESERVATIONS TO GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC. HE ASKED KARAMANLIS TO LET THIS BE MORE WIDELY PUBLICIZED. (VON DER GABLENTZ TOLD THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR THAT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT POINT TO THE GERMANS BECAUSE GREEK PUBLIC OPINION, ASSOCIATING THE FRG WITH THE UNITED STATES, IS SOMETIMES HOSTILE TO THE FRG AND UNAPPRECIATIVE OF GERMAN SUPPORT FOR GREECE.) SCHMIDT SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE GREEKS SHOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO PUSH THEIR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS TOO HARD WITHIN THE EC SINCE THIS WOULD ALIENATE FRENCH AND ITALIAN INTERESTS.

-- SCHMIDT SAID THAT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE FRG HAD SUPPORTED GREECE MORE THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY. HE ALSO ASKED THAT THIS BE PUBLICIZED. HE SAID THAT GERMANY HAD GIVEN GREECE 120 MILLION DM IN DEVELOPMENT AID AND 250 MILLION DM IN CREDITS FROM GERMAN BANKS (OFTEN GUARANTEED BY THE GOVERNMENT). AS FOR MILITARY AID, SCHMIDT SAID THAT A GERMAN MILITARY DELEGATION WOULD VISIT ATHENS IN JANUARY 1977 TO DISCUSS MILITARY AID AND IT WILL ALSO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY FOR USING SOME OF THIS AID TO HELP FINANCE FOUR GREEK SUBMARINES (PRESUMABLY TO BE BUILT IN GERMAN YARDS).

-- KARAMANLIS THEN DISCUSSED THE EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND HE TOOK SOME PAINS TO STRESS THAT THERE SHOULD BE CLOSE COLLABORATION BETWEEN A
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SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 20852 01 OF 03 302000Z

UNITED EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THE FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY BELIEVES HE STRESSED THIS POINT TO OVERCOME GERMAN FEARS THAT GREECE, ONCE A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY, WOULD EXERT INFLUENCE AGAINST CLOSER EUROPEAN-AMERICAN TIES. KARAMANLIS SAID THAT A UNITED EUROPE SHOULD BE AN ATLANTIC EUROPE (A POINT WHICH THE FRG WILL NOT REPEAT NOT REPORT TO THE FRENCH). HE SAID THAT EUROPE COULD NOT SUSTAIN ITS INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT

AMERICA AND THAT EUROPE HAD TO SACRIFICE FOR THIS,
PARTICULARLY SINCE THE EUROPEAN LEVEL OF DEFENSE
EXPENDITURES WAS ONLY ONE-HALF AS MUCH OF GNP AS THE

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PAGE 01 BONN 20852 02 OF 03 301851Z

42

ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 20852

EXDIS

US AND THE SOVIET LEVEL.

-- WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF HIS POSITIVE REMARKS
ABOUT A EUROPEAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP, KARAMANLIS WAS
NONETHELESS SOMEWHAT CRITICAL OF US POLICY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN CYPRUS. HE
SAID SPECIFICALLY THAT THE US SHOULD EXERT MORE
INFLUENCE ON ISRAEL FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT AND
HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT, ONCE SUCH A SETTLEMENT
IS REACHED, THE ARAB STATES WOULD BE LESS UNITED THAN
NOW.

-- AS FOR CYPRUS, KARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE PRESENT
SITUATION WAS UNTENABLE AND UNJUST. HE SAID THAT HE WAS
TRYING TO RESTRAIN THE GREEK ARMY AND PEOPLE AND THAT
HE WANTED A DIALOGUE WITH TURKEY AND A REASONABLE

SETTLEMENT. NONETHELESS, HE SAID, HE HAD FOUND LITTLE ECHO IN TURKEY AND HE HOPED THE FRG WOULD EXERT ITS INFLUENCE THERE. WHEN SCHMIDT ASKED HIM ABOUT THE KOSYGIN VISIT TO TURKEY, KARAMANLIS REPLIED WITH DEEP CONVICTION THAT TURKEY WOULD NOT JOIN THE SOVIET UNION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 20852 02 OF 03 301851Z

EVEN IF IT WERE PUSHED TO DO SO BECAUSE OF 200 YEARS OF RIVALRY AND BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE TURKISH MILITARY.

-- SCHMIDT EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH KARAMANLIS' POSITIVE REMARKS ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS AND SAID THAT THIS CONVICTION WAS SHARED BY ALL EC MEMBERS INCLUDING FRANCE, EVEN THOUGH GISCARD HAD TO ACT CAREFULLY BECAUSE OF HIS OWN PUBLIC OPINION. HE SAID THAT HE FELT ONLY THE UNITED STATES COULD BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE FAILURE OF SOVIET POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD LEAD TO A RE-EXAMINATION.

-- DEALING WITH US-SOVIET AFFAIRS, SCHMIDT EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT DETENTE WOULD CONTINUE EVEN AFTER 1976--I.E., AFTER THE CPSU CONGRESS AND THE US ELECTION.

-- AS FOR CYPRUS, SCHMIDT SAID THAT THE FRG ONLY HAD DIPLOMATIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MEANS TO INFLUENCE THE PRINCIPALS. BUT HE SAID THAT THE FRG HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO TURKEY THAT THE TURKS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE SOME TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS. HE REITERATED THAT THE FRG IS FULLY PREPARED TO TRANSMIT USEFUL COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND IS IN GENERAL PREPARED TO PROVIDE GOOD OFFICES. (THOUGH VON DER GABLENTZ ADDED AT THIS POINT THAT THE FRG WISHED TO REMAIN CAREFUL NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE US AND EC EFFORTS.)

-- KARAMANLIS SAID HE APPRECIATED THE GERMAN EFFORT AND HE SAID THAT THERE WAS SOME HOPE THAT THE INTER-COMMUNAL DIALOGUE COULD BE TAKEN UP AGAIN. IF DIFFICULTIES AROSE, HE SAID HE MIGHT BE GLAD TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE GERMAN OFFER.

-- IN HIS REPORT ON THE SCHMIDT-KARAMANLIS MEETING, GEHLHOFF SAID THAT BOTH SIDES SHOWED GREAT FRANKNESS AND MUTUAL RESPECT AND THAT SCHMIDT MADE CLEAR HIS APPRECIATION REGARDING THE RETURN OF GREECE TO DEMOCRACY

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PAGE 03 BONN 20852 02 OF 03 301851Z

AND KARAMANLIS' PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS.

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PAGE 01 BONN 20852 03 OF 03 301853Z

42

ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 20852

EXDIS

3. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR, VAN WELL POINTED PARTICULARLY TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ONE PARAGRAPH IN THE JOINT GERMAN-GREEK COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON DECEMBER 29 (WE ASSUME THE DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED THE FULL TEXT BY OTHER MEANS.) THIS PARAGRAPH READS AS FOLLOWS:

"WITH REGARD TO THE SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BOTH SIDES POINTED INTER ALIA TO THE NEED FOR A PEACEFUL AND LASTING SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS SOLUTION SHOULD INSURE THE INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS AS WELL AS THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY AND THE

SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK AND
TURKISH POPULATIONS."

4. THIS SECTION CONSTITUTES, THE GERMANS BELIEVE, SOME
DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK POSITION BECAUSE IT ALLOWS
FOR GREATER RIGHTS FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY ON CYPRUS
EVEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE STATE. THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 20852 03 OF 03 301853Z

GERMANS DID NOT, HOWEVER, TRY TO PUSH KARAMANLIS ALSO
TO RECOGNIZE INDEPENDENT POLITICAL OR JURIDICAL
PRIVILEGES FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY.

5. VAN WELL ALSO SAID THE GERMANS BELIEVED THAT THE
TURKISH ATTITUDE HAS EVOLVED AND THAT THE TURKS NOW
SEEM TO BE MORE SERIOUS AND READY TO MAKE PROGRESS.
HE SAID THE GERMANS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE TURKS AND
THE GREEKS WERE TO MEET IN JANUARY TO DISCUSS THE
ISLANDS AND SHELF QUESTIONS. AS FOR THE INTER-COMMUNAL
TALKS BETWEEN THE CYPRUS PARTIES, THE GERMANS UNDERSTAND
THEY ARE TO BEGIN IN THE /NEW YEAR BUT DO NOT YET HAVE
ANY INFORMATION WHERE THE TALKS WILL BE HELD. THEY
UNDERSTAND FURTHER, HOWEVER, THAT THIS IS NOT A MAJOR
PROBLEM.

HILLENBRAND

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